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563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
771 and Turks.

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[829] While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

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[635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively
[62] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

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181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided
166 into the following groups: the descendants of those who were
169 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist-(the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

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181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

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[812] The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

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[668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tianshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

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schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

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Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

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During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

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Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsia (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected

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group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

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B. Transfer of Cadres

The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the number of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in directing the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organization in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of collectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [EXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

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Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized	238		Chekiang	"
	servicemen				
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

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133 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.

[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yen-an Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

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712 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance, and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or

• [166] provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

A TRIP TO KINTA

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the